

‘L’orage des passions’: Expressing Emotion on the Eighteenth- Century French Single-action Harp



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Abstract: The single-action harp was introduced to France in the mid-eighteenth century. The instrument's popularity reached its zenith in pre-revolutionary Paris as evidenced by the large number of method books and original compositions published for the instrument during this time. One of the first published references to this instrument was an entry in Diderot's iconic Encyclopédie (1751-1772) where the author states that the instrument is 'most suited to expressing tenderness and pain than the other emotions of the soul'. Through reading across key contemporaneous pedagogical, literary and musical sources, with a particular focus on those of influential harpist, writer and pedagogue Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis (née Du Crest 1746-1830), this paper interrogates how these emotions were performed and expressed on the single-action harp. Recent scholarship has focused on the instrument's social and gender role, in particular its radical feminisation, in which Genlis has been positioned as a major influence. This article builds upon this research to consider the gendered nature of emotions as expressed on the single-action harp as well as contextualising the instrument's unique mode of musical-emotional expression within the new musical aesthetic of the late eighteenth century, the Galant and Empfindsamer styles.

In 1762 in Paris, the entry for 'harp', published in volume eight of Diderot's *Encyclopedia*,¹ described the instrument as possessing a 'sweet and harmonious sound. It is truly moving, and most suited to expressing tenderness and pain than the other emotions of the soul'.² In Berlin that same year, C.P.E. Bach, while in the service of King Frederik II of Prussia, published his only solo work for harp, the harp sonata in G major, as well as the second part of his *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*.³ The latter publication has come to be recognised as one of the most influential statements on performance practice of the period and one of the most useful sources for performers today for understanding the musical aesthetics of the *Empfindsamer* or 'sensitive style', of which C.P.E. Bach was a major proponent.⁴ 1762 was also the year when the philosopher and composer Jean-Jacques Rousseau published *Emile* or *On Education*, a then-controversial treatise on the nature of man and education, which was one of several influential philosophical tracts of the period that perpetuated a discourse of gendered emotion and morality within the paradigm of the Enlightenment project of natural human equality. Coincidentally, Rousseau was also a major contributor to Diderot's *Encyclopedia*, writing a large number of entries on music as well as his own *Dictionary of Music*, published in Paris around 1768.⁵ He was not, however, the author of the encyclopedia entry on the harp. This honour went to Prince Michel-Casimir Hogenhski,⁶ a Polish noble, harpist and composer, who the editor describes as 'the most humble and accomplished harpist'.⁷ Hogenhski was interested in improving the harp's pedal mechanism, although he cannot be credited for its development since there were numerous luthiers experimenting with attaching pedals to the instrument throughout the first half of the eighteenth century.⁸ It was this particular kind of harp, one with a pedal mechanism that led it to become known as the single-action harp, which Hogenhski endowed with the particular ability to be 'truly touching' and express the emotions of tenderness and pain.

Why does this instrument merit this emotional characterisation? There may be three reasons: firstly, through its construction, which enabled the instrument to play musical gestures that the baroque harp could not; secondly, because of the instrument's musical embodiment of the *Empfindsamer* style through the development of a unique body of solo repertoire; lastly, because of the radical feminisation of the instrument as evidenced by the gendered discourse present in treatises and other contemporaneous literary sources. In contemporary literature, there is a paucity of published research in relation to eighteenth-century French single-action harp performance practice and more specifically to the sociocultural and musical position the instrument inhabits as a vehicle for a particular mode of emotional expression. This is in spite of the increasing interest from performers and musicologists in the instrument and its repertoire over the past few decades. The majority of literature tends to focus on the instrument's history in terms of both its mechanical and design evolution, and to some extent its sociocultural role, but not its performance practice.⁹

In understanding how the single-action harp's construction contributed to its particular emotional palette it is important to understand that this instrument represented a significant step in the harp's mechanical evolution and aesthetic qualities. In the century prior to this instrument's earliest recorded appearance in Austria around 1720,¹⁰ the harp existed in a number of forms throughout Europe. There were diatonic harps with a single row of strings, on which chromaticism could be achieved through tuning, manually pressing on the strings at the neck to shorten them in order increase the pitch by a semitone, or hooks attached to the neck which could be turned by the left hand to shorten the string to the same effect. There were also chromatic harps with double, triple or crossed rows of strings, in which chromatic notes were contained in one of the rows, necessitating, in the case of the *arpa doppia* or Italian baroque triple harp, that the harpist reach their fingers through

the strings to access the chromatic row. It was this kind of harp that made its iconic appearance in Monteverdi's opera *L'Orfeo* in 1607.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the technical limitations of this instrument were beginning to be felt in light of the demands of changing musical styles. The primary limitation was the technical awkwardness or in some cases the plain impossibility of playing continuous scale patterns and arpeggios while modulating to various keys, and playing chromatic ornaments. This new pedal mechanism on the single-action harp was particularly exciting because it made it possible to play all twelve notes of the scale on a single-rowed harp with continuous arpeggios and other figures. The modulations are achieved by the pedal mechanism which, when engaged by the player's feet, could raise the pitch of each degree of scale by one semitone. The single-action harp retains the clarity and brightness of the baroque but with a warmer, more powerful bass, a change in sound that was registered by listeners of the day. Dolan has argued that eighteenth-century listeners were particularly attuned to instrumental tone colour.¹¹ The newly-developed discourse evaluating instrumental timbre in mid-eighteenth-century musical culture linked an instrument's individual sonority to specific emotional characteristics. The single-action harp was certainly no exception. As has been stated above, Diderot's *Encyclopedia* associated the 'sweet and harmonious' sound of the harp with a range of intimate emotions 'of the soul' including tenderness and pain. But to what extent were listeners reacting to the timbre of the instrument and not the new repertoire of gestures that it made available?

Although the gesture of continuous arpeggiation is virtually synonymous with the harp today, for the single-action harp, it was an exciting new musical device capable of expressing a range of emotions from tenderness to wild tempestuousness. The importance of arpeggiation as an effective and affective musical gesture is clear in the large number of pedagogical methods for the single-action harp written in Paris where the instrument experienced the height of its popularity from 1760

onwards. The harpist and composer, Philippe Jacques-Meyer, who wrote the first comprehensive method for the single-action harp in 1763,¹² advocated the use of arpeggiation when realising chordal passages as he believed that it rendered them more 'expressive and attractive', stating that

this method is preferable to all the others in that it produces an effect more harmonious and mellifluous than that of playing the chords flat which is very harsh on the ear and destroys all the merit of the instrument.¹³

An anonymous treatise in 1787 noted that *batteries*, which are continuous arpeggio or alberti bass type figures played in semiquavers, could be suited to accompanying a tender, expressive and languorous *Romance*.¹⁴ The single-action harp's ability to execute continuous arpeggiation whilst modulating to various tonalities allowed for the composition of imaginative fantasias and preludes in an improvisatory style, which expressed what Taruskin describes as the 'fluidity of subjective feeling' present in *Empfindsamer* music.¹⁵

The single-action harp is lightly strung and capable of subtle dynamic nuances, while still maintaining absolute clarity of sound. As a modern performer coming to this instrument after years at a concert grand pedal harp with two tonnes of tension in the strings, one can be struck by this instrument's extreme responsiveness to touch. Practice sessions take on a highly emotionalised quality, as one feels compelled to be almost tender and loving toward the instrument when engaging the strings to allow the harp to speak and resonate most fully. Experimenting with touch leads to an awareness of the instrument's ability to produce sudden and striking dynamic contrasts, which in turn produce great emotional effects when combined with harmonic movement. One wonders whether this dynamic responsiveness is only striking to the modern player or did harpists of the time also use it to expressive ends? Several treatises from the period warn against 'plucking' the strings with too much force and encourage delicate execution. There is

a detailed description of the harp's dynamic capabilities in the method for teaching the harp by the prolific writer, pedagogue and harpist Madame de Genlis.¹⁶ This method is an important source for single-action harp performance practice because it is one of the very few that is pitched at a level of technical virtuosity and musical sophistication. The instrument's huge popularity as an attractive accomplishment for young aristocratic women in order to render them more marriageable engendered a large number of methods designed for beginners, which were for the most part written by harpist/composer/teachers of the single-action harp in Paris.¹⁷ In Chapter Two of Genlis' harp method, entitled *On Taste, Expression and Instrumental Music in General*,¹⁸ she enumerates the harp's subtle dynamic qualities in the first paragraph:

The harp has the advantage over the piano of being able to infinitely shade the *pianos* [softs] and *fortes* [louds]. Therefore one must know:

1. How to draw out all the sound possible from this instrument.
2. How to reduce it to the most delicate nuance.

Genlis then goes on to explain how this dynamic range can be used to create expression:

We are naturally inclined to speed up in the loud sections and slow down in the soft sections, as such one must be careful to avoid playing mechanically, that is to say when it is not in the musical intention to give such expression to a passage.

Mr Plane is one of the harpists who plays the most refined *pianos* with the most clarity. In playing *forte* and *piano* it is necessary to avoid a certain symmetry, which renders the playing insipid, for example, the regular placement of an abrupt *forte* followed by a *piano* at the start of bars. One must not in this regard, follow a steady progression; the *forte* and especially the *piano* must be always unexpected, except in the Rondo where one likes to return to the first motif without change.¹⁹

The dynamic subtleties and irregular contrasts suggested by Genlis as an effective means of expressing emotion on the single-action harp directly reflect both

the short-range dynamic contrasts used as an expressive device in music of the *Galant* style,²⁰ such as in the keyboard works of J.C. Bach, and the use of sudden dynamic changes to delineate quick emotional change in the more introspective *Empfindsamer* style. This approach to the use of dynamics for emotional expression is evident in much of the solo repertoire composed for the instrument. Jean-Baptiste Krumpholtz (1747–1790) was known throughout Europe as a harpist and composer, and was also responsible for making several mechanical alterations to the harp including an eighth *pedal de renforcement*, which opened and closed shutters at the back of the instrument to produce a swelling vibrato effect for moments of emotional intensity. The sudden dynamic changes and adventurous modulation in works by Krumpholtz such as the Sonata in A minor No. 1, Op. 16, ‘*Comme Scene Pathétique*’, call to mind Quantz’s much-quoted passage in his 1752 treatise *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, in which he states that the musician must ‘adopt a different sentiment in every bar’,²¹ a directive that epitomises the overriding musical sensibility of the latter half of the eighteenth century. Krumpholtz’s preference for this mercurial emotional language in his harp music was noted in his own time. Mr J.M. Plane, a devoted student, describes it as such in the preface to Krumpholtz’s posthumously published harp method:

The life of a man of letters is in his writing, said Voltaire; one could say the same thing for a composer of music. Each of his works has a character, a physiognomy, which paints his soul. Such are the works of Krumpholtz, known throughout all of Europe for his talents and his misfortunes: Sometimes tender and melancholy, inspiring of a sweet reverie, sometimes somber with harmonies of a darker tint, communicating an involuntary sadness. Often his naïve and pastoral tone transports you to the light-hearted countryside. But soon the storm of passions looms to trouble this happy calm and your soul shares the trouble and agitation of his.²²

The repertoire for the single-action harp mainly written by harpist-composers indicates that that these composers took advantage of the sonic-acoustic qualities of this new instrument to express the new emotional palette of subjective caprice, mercurial changeability and impressionability, as opposed to the more objective 'heroic affect' of the seventeenth century.²³ While there were a large number of male virtuoso players, teachers and composers for the single-action harp in France in the late eighteenth century, such as the previously mentioned Krumpholtz and Meyer, the majority of performers on this instrument were women. Adelson and Letzter have made a convincing case that no other instrument in history has undergone such a radical feminisation.²⁴ They argue that this is primarily because of its simultaneous conformity to and transgression from eighteenth century ideas of feminine decency. It is from this foundation that I wish to argue that emotional expression on the single-action harp can be seen as highly gendered.

A second entry on the harp in Diderot's *Encyclopedie* published by an anonymous author alongside the plates of the single-action harp in 1767, states that the instrument

...has become an object of amusement for the sensitive sex, who, far from depriving themselves of the emotions that the harp can excite in our souls by its sweet harmony and mellifluous sounds, lend to it even more favourable assistance in order to increase its charm.²⁵

In Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune's *L'Accord Parfait* (1777), the young woman in the picture is in the act of caressing the harp strings in a state of sweet reverie, unaware — or perhaps all too aware — of the attention of the two gallant young men either side of her. She is intimately embracing her instrument, with her left leg sensually wrapped around the body of the instrument displaying a slim ankle.



Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune, *L'Accord Parfait*. Engraved by Isidore Stanislas Helman, from *Le Monument du Costume Physique et Moral de la fin du Dix-huitième siècle*, 1777. Etching and engraving. © Trustees of the British Museum.

The single-action harp became the perfect vehicle through which women's relegated role of natural, sensual and emotional moral being could be played out. Featuring garlands of carved acanthus foliage and rococo painting on the soundboard, the instrument depicted naturalness and simplicity, making it perfect for women in a domestic setting, whose very 'naturalness' according to received discourse of the time meant that they were best suited to rearing children and whose 'simplicity' prevented serious intellectual pursuit. Just as the 'naturalness' of the single-action harp's wooden body actually disguised a complex mechanism in the neck and

column, these determinist ideas about women's subjectivity were carefully-crafted artificial constructs, which Steinbrügge theorises as a masculine reaction of anxiety to the rise of the learned intellectual woman in eighteenth-century salon society.²⁶ The transgressive act of a woman playing the instrument — revealing her sensual self and providing an erotic spectacle for the male gaze — created an alluring tension with the instrument's 'naturalness and simplicity'. Adelson and Lezter note that the single-action harp's hyper-feminisation was so pervasive that it had even penetrated the French language itself. Before 1760 'to play the harp' could mean colloquially 'to pilfer or steal', which was an anti-Semitic reference to King David and his harp. After 1760 however, French dictionaries defined the phrase as 'to play with one's hands over a woman, to slide one's hands over her, touch her private parts, to grope her with one's fingers, rub her clitoris and excite her with one's fingers'.²⁷ This was only shortly after a young Madame de Genlis helped launch the fashion among young women for the single-action harp through a series of public performances. She became the first person in Paris to perform harpsichord music on the instrument, proving it to be a solo instrument in its own right. During the decade prior, owing to the lack of repertoire, male harpists had only performed improvised preludes, accompaniments to romances and airs, and a limited number of their own compositions.²⁸ Later on, Queen Marie Antoinette added to the instrument's cultural capital by taking up the single-action harp upon her marriage to Louis XVI.

It is interesting to note that while Madame de Genlis provoked, participated in, and perpetuated the feminisation of the harp, stating in her method that the instrument should only be played by a woman 'when she is young and beautiful',²⁹ she herself refused the role to which her culture had assigned her, instead 'casting off her feminine robes for the masculine culottes of a pedagogue'.³⁰ She wrote prolifically, married several times and survived the revolution abroad only to be welcomed back to France by Napoleon and to live out her old age on a pension.

Adelson and Letzer's writings on the musical education of women in France prior to the revolution demonstrate how many artistic women used their socially-sanctioned skills as harpists and the popular allure of the instrument's feminisation to help enact their careers on the public stage.³¹ Could the gendering of emotion on the single-action harp be a performative act by the female subject and not just a cultural imperative? This is suggested by the self-awareness these women displayed in the face of a dominant ideology which severely limited them, but which they managed to appropriate for their own purposes. The contradiction inherent in Genlis' realisation of herself as a woman also affirms this. Matthew Head asserts this potential for women in the Enlightenment period to achieve a modicum of cultural power through their ability to highlight 'a discourse — an ideology — of female sovereignty in polite culture and the fine arts'.³²

In late eighteenth-century philosophical and literary discourse, women were positioned as being especially receptive to sensibility, and particularly competent at emotional morality by nature. However, the emotions they were capable of expressing were 'little ones' according to the poet and cultural critic Antoine Léonard Thomas.³³ Thomas created a hierarchy of sentiment in which, while women surpass men in their ability to express, love, tenderness, pity, and so on, 'they lack the requisite capacity for abstraction of such lofty emotions as 'patriotism' (*amour de la patrie*) or 'love of humanity' (*amour de l'humanité*) or for 'austere and impartial justice'.³⁴ So how does this translate to musical expression on the single-action harp? Thomas' 'little emotions' of love, tenderness, pity, are the kinds of emotions considered to be courtly or aristocratic and acceptable for expression in a social setting. They are 'public' emotions, which are associated with the *Galant* style of music, a style adopted in many compositions for the single-action harp. Of course, men played *Galant* music too, and many would have performed this style of music on the harp, which begs the as yet unresolved question about the nature of and space

for masculine gendered emotion on an instrument that had become hyper-feminised by the end of the eighteenth century. Perhaps this question needs to be considered in light of the next development in the evolution of the harp, the double-action pedal harp, which coexisted with the single-action harp at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The single-action harp became a mediator through which a certain kind of female cultural power could be enacted, although of course this power came with strings attached! Did the double-action harp become a technology through which men could reclaim their Orphic emotional power?

Notes

¹ Michel-Casimir Hoghenski, 'Harpe', in *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (Paris, 1762; repr. Courlay: Éditions Fuzeau, 2002), p. 18.

² [In this article, all translations are by the author] 'Cet instrument rend des sons doux et harmonieux; il est très touchant et plus propre à exprimer la tendresse et la douleur, que les autres affections de l'âme'. Hoghenski, 'Harpe', p. 18.

³ Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* (Berlin, 1762; repr. Los Altos: Packard Humanities Institute, 2011).

⁴ 'A musical aesthetic associated with north Germany during the middle of the 18th century...' 'Empfindsamer Stil'...aims to achieve an intimate, sensitive and subjective expression; gentle tears of melancholy were one of its most desired responses.' See Daniel Hertz and Bruce Alan Brown, 'Empfindsamkeit', in *Grove Music Online* in *Oxford Music Online*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>> [accessed 20 June 2013].

⁵ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de Musique* (Paris, 1768; repr. Lonrai: Actes Sud, 2007).

⁶ Also known as Michael/Michal Hoghinski or Oginski (1728-1800). See Roslyn Rensch, *Harps and Harpists* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), p. 129.

⁷ Denis Diderot, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (1751-1772; repr. Courlay: Éditions Fuzeau, 2002), p. 18.

⁸ Rensch, *Harps and Harpists*, p. 129.

⁹ For the history of the single-action harp in France see Laure Barthel, *Au coeur de la harpe au XVIIIème siècle*, trans. by Janet Vertesi (Mouzeil: Garnier-François Editions, 2005). Dagmar Droysen-Reber and Beat Wolf's, *Harfen des Berliner Musikinstrumenten-Museums* (Berlin: Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1999) is the most comprehensive volume dealing with the instrument's design. For performance practice, Mike Parker's source book *Child of Pure Harmony* (Hackney: Parker Harps, 2005) provides an overview of hand position, fingering and ornamentation based on primary sources. For the instrument's sociocultural history and gender politics, Robert Adelson and Jacqueline Letzter's book *Women Writing Opera: Creativity and Controversy in the Age of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) and their more recent article "'For a woman when she is young and beautiful": The Harp in Eighteenth-Century France', in *History/Herstory. Andere Musikgeschichte(n)*, ed. by Annette Kreutziger-Herr and Katrin Losleben, (Köln/Weimar : Böhlau Verlag, 2008), pp. 314–35, present the most sophisticated research to date, upon which this article aims to build.

¹⁰ Droysen-Reber and Wolf, *Harfen des Berliner Musikinstrumenten-Museums*, p. 51.

¹¹ Emily I. Dolan, *The Orchestral Revolution: Haydn and the Technologies of Timbre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 53–71.

¹² Philippe Jacques Meyer, *Essai sur la vraie manière de jouer de la Harpe avec une méthode de l'accorder* (Paris, 1763; repr. Courlay: Éditions Fuzeau, 2002).

¹³ '[C]ette manière est préférable à toutes les autres, en ce qu'elle produit un effet plus harmonieux et plus moelleux que celle de placquer les accords qui est très dure à l'oreille et détruit tout mérite de l'instrument.' Philippe Jacques Meyer, *Nouvelle Methode Pour Apprendre à Jouer de la Harpe Avec la manière de l'Accorder. Oeuvre IX* (Paris, 1774; repr. Courlay: Éditions Fuzeau, 2002), p. 96.

¹⁴ Anonymous, *METHODE DE HARPE Avec laquelle on peut accompagner à Livre ouvert, toutes sortes d'Ariettes et Chansons avec le secours de la Basse chiffrée Et trois Recueils d'Ariettes arrangés suivant ces principes* (1787; repr. Courlay: Éditions Fuzeau, 2002).

¹⁵ Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 5 vols (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), II, p. 409.

¹⁶ Madame de Genlis, *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la harpe* (Paris, 1811; repr. Genève: Minkoff Reprint, 1974).

¹⁷ Rensch notes that, 'in Paris by 1784, interest in the harp was such that 58 harp teachers were listed in *Les Tablettes de la Renommée*. Many of them were also composers for the instrument.' Rensch, *Harps and Harpists*, p. 175.

¹⁸ 'Du goût, de l'expression, et de la musique instrumentale en général'. de Genlis, *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la harpe*, p. 5.

¹⁹ 'La Harpe a sur le piano l'avantage de nuancer à l'infini les *piano* et les *forte*. Il faut donc savoir 1. tirer tout le son possible de cet instrument et 2. le radoucir jusqu'à la nuance la plus délicate. On est naturellement porté à presser le mouvement dans les *forte* et à le ralentir dans les *piano* c'est ce qu'il faut soigneusement éviter de faire mécaniquement, c'est à dire, quand ce n'est pas dans le dessein de donner de l'expression à un passage. M Plane est l'un des joueurs de Harpe qui fait le plus nettement les *piano* les plus radoucis. Il faut éviter en faisant les *forte* et les *piano* une certaine symétrie qui rend le jeu insipide, par exemple, de placer régulièrement à des commencemens de mesures un *forte* brusque suivi d'un *piano*; il ne faut point à cet égard suivre un marche fixe et réglée, il faut que les *forte* et surtout les *piano*, soient presque toujours inattendus, excepté dans les rondeaux où l'on aime à retrouver le premier motif sans changement.' de Genlis, *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la harpe*, p. 5.

²⁰ 'A term widely used during the 18th century to denote music with lightly accompanied, periodic melodies, and the appropriate manner of performing the same. 'Being *galant*, in general', wrote Voltaire, 'means seeking to please.' See Daniel Heartz and Bruce Alan Brown, 'Galant', in *Grove Music Online* in *Oxford Music Online*, < <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/> > [accessed 20 June 2013].

²¹ Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*. 2nd edn, trans. by Edward R. Reilly (New York: Schirmer Books, 1985), p. 126.

²² 'La vie d'un homme de lettres est dans ses écrits, disoit Voltaire; on pourrait dire la même d'un habile compositeur de musique. Chacune de ses productions a un caractère, une physionomie, où son amie se peint. Tels sont les ouvrages du célèbre Krumpholtz, connu dans toute l'Europe par ses talens et ses malheurs. Tantôt par un chant tendre et mélancolique, il vous inspire une douce rêverie; tantôt ses accords prenant une teinte plus sombre, vous communiquent une tristesse involontaire. Quelquefois son ton naïf et pastoral vous promène au milieu de campagnes riantes, et vous rappelle le souvenir des plaisirs champêtres. Bientôt l'orage des passions vient troubler ce calme heureux, et votre ame partage alors le trouble et l'agitation de la sienne'. Jean-Baptiste Krumpholtz/J.M. Plane, *Principes Pour La Harpe* (Paris, 1800; repr. Courlay: Éditions Fuzeau, 2002), p. 71.

²³ Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, p. 409.

²⁴ Adelson and Letzter, "'For a woman when she is young and beautiful": The Harp in Eighteenth-Century France', pp. 314–35.

²⁵ 'qui devient l'objet de l'amusement d'un sexe né sensible, qui, loin de se refuser aux émotions que la harpe sait exciter dans nos ames par la douceur de son harmonie & la suavité de ses sons, lui prête encore des secours favorables, afin d'en augmenter le charme.' Anonyme, 'Lutherie: Seconde Suite:

Planche XIX', in *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une Société de Gens de lettres*, XXII, ed. by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert (Paris: 1772), ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (University of Chicago, Spring 2013 Edition), ed. by Robert Morrissey, <<http://encyclopedia.uchicago.edu>> [accessed 20 June 2013].

²⁶ Lieselotte Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex: Women's Nature in the French Enlightenment*, trans. by Pamela E. Selwyn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

²⁷ Adelson and Letzter, "For a woman when she is young and beautiful": The Harp in Eighteenth-Century France', p. 325.

²⁸ de Genlis, *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la harpe*, pp. 2–3.

²⁹ de Genlis, *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la harpe*, p. 1.

³⁰ 'C'est une femme à système qui quitte son grand habit pour les culottes d'un pédagogue.' Anonymous, *Vie privée de Mme de Sillery; baronne d'Oberkirch*, cited in Gabriel de Broglie, *Madame de Genlis* (Paris: Librairie Academique Perrin, 1985), pp. 114–15.

³¹ Adelson and Letzter, *Women Writing Opera*, pp. 49–51.

³² Matthew Head, *Sovereign Feminine: Music and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), p. 7.

³³ Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex: Women's Nature in the French Enlightenment*, p. 96.

³⁴ Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex: Women's Nature in the French Enlightenment*, pp. 97–8.

